1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of mashed apples;[23] *mote*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;[24] *mudai*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[25] and *muska* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with premasticated corn.[26] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to intoxicants, particularly at fiestas.[27] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

[23] Latcham (1909, p. 343) reported that apple *chicha* is made by men. Other fruits are sometimes substituted for apples. The presence of pips in a drink used to be considered an omen of fertility.

[24] Skin was removed with a strong solution of ashes. Cf. Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 92.

[25] Good accounts of *mudai* manufacture may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 145–46, and in Housse, 1939, pp. 172–75.

[26] Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid reaction to the premastication process occurs in Smith, 1885, pp. 302–4.

[27] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

again called, "See, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The man suggested that they make a ŋillatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the ŋillatun. He was well treated; he ate and drank to satiety. When the ŋillatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story. 539

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women—never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100-year-old Cofiaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked. 517 276

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté. Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tiaca or of filuponü (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Cofiaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him. [272]

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the pifəlka (whistle) (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 32, *1*), the kultruŋ (drum) (pl. 30, *1*), the wada (rattle), and the kulkull and the kuŋkul (bugles) (pl. 12, *1*). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pifəlka, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pifəlka, trutruka, and kultruŋ are used at the ŋillatun; the kultruŋ and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instruments, a basketry rattle, a flute made of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, *5, 7, 8*), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study. 534

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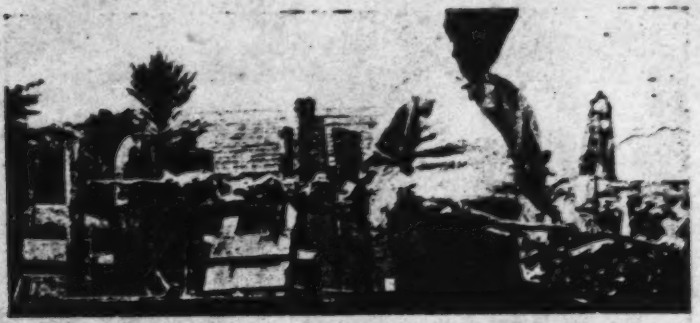

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Preparing meat and drinking maté: 1, Lamb or mutton ready to be roasted (Alepúe). 2, Roasting lamb or mutton over an open fireplace (Chan Chan in Alepúe area). 3, Drinking a beverage made of yerba maté (Chan Chan in Alepúe area).

[p. 188 (J)]

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252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the luche is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a caldo, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a caldo.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on worn-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros [857] or pails. Children usually fetch it.

●272 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 51, *3*). This drink was only recently 177 introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Cofiaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a [415] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

273 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (manzanas silvestre) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or voqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

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around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 252 462

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 271 312 361

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of malwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272 [repeat]

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272 [574] children at mealtime and as a between-meal drink. It is also served to visitors for hospitality's sake. In Argentina it is usually drunk without sugar.

THE TOLDO, PRESENT-DAY DWELLINGS, STORAGE

342 The toldo, the early conventional dwelling of the Argentine Araucanians, was a collapsible, transportable tent of hides—informants called it ruka, the Araucanian name for dwelling. An occasional family lived under a rock shelter that had several walls of piled-up stone, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed a wall at the opening. During the season of favorable weather, families often lived under large shade trees with no shelter except the dense foliage. Ruka, such as the Chilean Araucanians built, namely, gable-roofed frameworks of poles thatched with grass, did not exist in Argentina. "I know that ruka, like our people in Chile still build, were the first kind of dwellings our people had—that is, our ancestors in Chile had them; but I have never seen one on this side of the Cordillera," said Kolupan; "here we have always lived in trəkle ruka [house of pelts], called toldos." He went on to tell that the building of a toldo was a community affair. Men prepared the poles and helped the women in the preparation of the hides. "Twenty to thirty persons got together to build the trəkle ruka," said Kolupan; "we did as they do in Chile when they build a ruka. Sometimes several were built at one time." At the completion of the work, an animal was slaughtered and a copious meal with mudai was served, a celebration known as the kawiñtun. When toldos had to be moved—as on occasions such as transferring herds to new grazing grounds—the women collapsed the toldos, rolled the hides on the toldo poles, and transported them on pack horses.

Toldos were of two kinds: an inverted-V type and a 4-walled one not unlike a lean-to, but having one gabled wall. Both consisted of a framework of poles with a covering of hides. The inverted-V type was erected when a dwelling was needed for only a short time, as when hunting or during the days "when we were being chased by the military from place to place." Its poles were tied together at the ridge or bolstered against each other. Several V-type ones I saw were covered with tin in place of hides. They were being erected in mountain valleys, also, where cattle were being taken for summer grazing.

Kolupan described the erection of a gabled-end toldo. Nine poles were needed: six of equal length, two noticeably longer than these, and one longer than the last two. Nine holes were next made in the

½ [i.e. yerba maté. -Analyst]